616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 [756] If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

● 846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[75] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwas "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little 553 party" (wiči lonu'iwas) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa'tsas hu'ton). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were ob- [846] served during pregnancy and until the newborn infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the 843 sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 854 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177 is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

[P. 1039] Wukchumni

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The [757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no·mč·n, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po·noi nomč·n, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not [551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi·ti lonu·wis) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

805 177

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

131 7. šu ˊlnao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa ˊno: long hill lying northeast to
361 southwest on east side of valley
103 9. toi ˊyok: high peak northwest of no. 5
10. wiše ˊlao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo ˊnyu: village site on flat
12. to ˊpo: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe ˊyu
14. soiyo ˊˊo
15. wai ˊyo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta ˊo: a "bald" hill
17. ka ˊlpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did꞉ ˊpča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn꞉ ˊnyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po ˊo ˊlo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt꞉ ˊnao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo ˊˊok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu ˊlat, married Pu ˊlkos; their son was Pus꞉n꞉nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi ˊyut, married a grandson of Puš꞉l꞉n named Ai ˊjo (Jack); their daughter was Ai ˊn꞉k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo ˊpai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si ˊk꞉d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second [789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

● 846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 553 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a [854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and [602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´´ič) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it [177] only ten days. The second (aki´lič) was the larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, [856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New [184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method [252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču ša). The pieces used

[286] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɨn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam- [823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand- [603] father brought the first cradle (bi´ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] [553] The baby remained on this for two months, at the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɨ´lɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the [856 child left the cradle, the stump was removed 789] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put 553 on its second cradle, and received a name selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on [611] the male line.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
177 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

● 846 Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one
852 month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was
783 held for the mother by both parental families, said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was
852 still within the shelter, picked her up and set her on her feet. A large washing basket
783 ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

846 852 783 women relatives of the man's family did the same for the wife's attendants (mother and sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deerskin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. --A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

[292] [825 237]

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place. The young mother's family had assembled quantities of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries, etc., while the young father's family had provided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

431 846 852 783

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth, e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[178]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

[262]

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
● 846 for some reason they could not be nursed, said N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel (warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth, as it was thought to aid the production of milk. She did not resume a full normal diet until about two months had passed. She could, however, have quail soup, which was also a special infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it," though usually it was not given until the child [856 had reached the age of at least two months. The 825] purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the child will walk early. A bird was pounded up and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though nursing was supplemental to the basic diet after the age of three to five years, they 862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years. Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who had been out hunting, would come home and go to the mother's breast, as would girls of equal age, said N.W. From two years on, children were permitted to have any type of food they cared for and could manage. From a month on a baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing amounts. To start the child on solid food the mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it to the young one. "They look at the mother, then open their mouths, just like little birds." After the meat the child would have acorn gruel, the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips. By the age of five the child could hold its own basket when drinking from it. Sometimes children were given ground rabbit meat, but it was thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk, they were trained to go outside to urinate [they were in the cradle a good part of the time up to two years of age, of course]. If they did not learn readily, a medicine was prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?]. This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure [informant could not elucidate]. A child would be about five or six when this was done; "accidents" occurred as late as the age of thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
789 walk, the mother or someone of the family would hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
868 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed with it. If the little one looked back and showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks away. After that he keeps right on walking [sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her grandchildren?].

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ʻoša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was W Y 845 755 called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y 844 The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkʻd) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was W Y [853] then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound to a forked-stick cradle (akhʻlʻč). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

W Y 846 The navel stump came off in three to six (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [237] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W Y [824] steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (toʻoʻdi) was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called teʻʻena ʻošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

W
Y
846 meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W
Y
553 The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time,
852 and often for a month or two after, it was called a ´ktač (S.O.); called we´čip if a boy,
[551] and wi´tep if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto [Ko'onikwe] was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

W
Y
846 The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´ho[1] unu´malo[a], washing daughter-in-law) took place
783 the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[172]The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

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the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it, The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 352 854

The cradle (akh:l:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854

The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [856]

When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

W Y [841]

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (:pla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be connected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.